Between simultaneity and anteriority: toward a typology of limitive as a separate meaning

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Outline

- Introduction
- Parameters of variation
  - Viewpoint of the marked event
  - Viewpoint of the reference event
  - Polarity of the reference event
  - Givenness of the marked event
- Conclusion

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Introduction: anterior vs. limitive

Khwarshi (Nakh-Daghestanian, lezgian)

1. *de*   *zihe*   **λuλ-*šehol*-*uč***   *tɨλ-i*

   1SG.ERG   cow   give.birth-ANT-PART   sell-PST.W

   'I sold the cow before it gave birth.' [Khalilova 1983: 404]

2. *λux-un*   *žu*   *kad*   ***ičlax*-*šeq'a***   *boc'ɣo*

   stay-PST.UW   that.ABS   girl   old.CAUS-TERM   wolf.APUD

   'The girl stayed with the wolf until it got old.' [ibid: 405]

Introduction: anterior vs. limitive

[Kortmann 1998: 464 –368]:
- ***Posteriority***: 'before p, q' — p follows q in time.
- ***Terminus ad quem***: 'until p, q' — p identifies a moment or a period of time up to which q is true.

[Givón 2001: 330]:
- ***Precedence***: Before he came, she left.
- ***Terminal boundary***: Till she left, he worked steady.

[Hrakovskij 2009: 31]:
- ***Contact posteriority***: Before Petya got out he turned off the light.
- ***Interruptant posteriority***: Peter was doing homework until Mary came.

Introduction: anterior vs. limitive

- **Separate meanings or just aspectual variants?**
- **What features are specific of limitives?**

Introduction: anterior vs. limitive

- A variance/convenience sample sample of **100 world languages**:
  - Papuan – 12, South American – 10, Altaic – 9, Nakh-Dagestanian – 8, North American – 8, Isolates – 8, Niger-Congo – 7, Uralic – 6, Indo-European – 5, Sino-Tibetan – 4, Austronesian – 4, Afroasiatic – 3, Abkhaz-Adyghe – 2, Chukotko-Kamchatkan – 2, Eskimo-Aleut – 2, Dravidian – 2, Austroasiatic – 1, Nilo-Sakharan – 1, Mesoamerican – 1, Creoles – 1
- Only **non-finite forms** analyzed
- Anterior and/or limitive forms found in **34 languages**

Introduction: anterior vs. limitive

- Unfortunately little information has been found in grammars
- Fieldwork: Adyghe (2014), Moksha (2014–2016), Hill Mari (2016)
- Obtained results are considered preliminary, further study needed

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Parameters of variation

4 relevant parameters found:

- Viewpoint of the marked event

- Viewpoint of the reference event

- Polarity of the reference event

- Givenness of the marked event

- NB! Marked event ≈ dependent clause event, reference event ≈ main clause event

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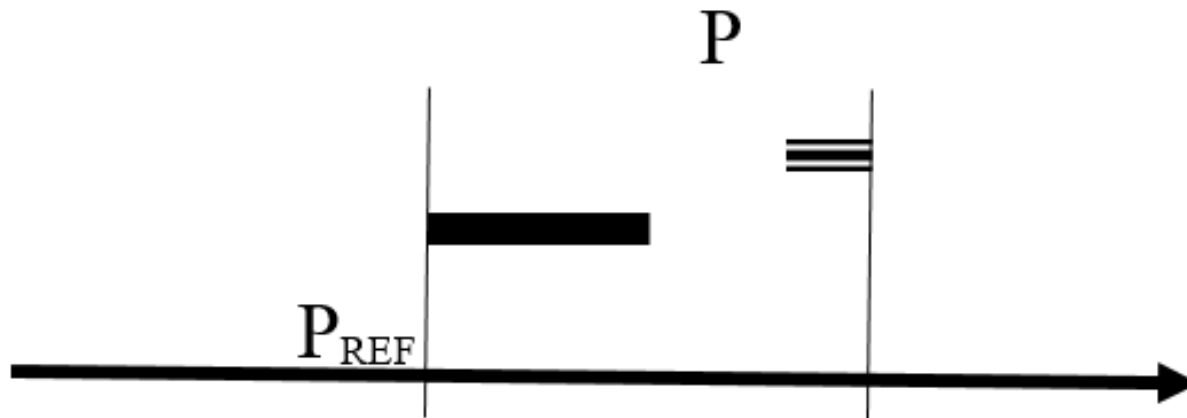- Conclusion

1. Viewpoint of the marked event

- ***ANTERIOR: perfective vs. imperfective => precedence***

Central Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut)

3.   *angute-t*   *maqi-llru-ut,*   ***ner-vaileg-meng***
     man-ABS.PL   bathe-PST-IND.3PL   eat-CNN.BF-3RPL
     'The men took a bath before the meal.' [Miyaoka 2012: 1395]

4.   ***yuur-paileg-ma****,*   *aata-ma*   *kipusvik*
     be.born-CNN.BF-1SG   father-REL.1SG.SG   shop.ABS.SG
     pi-ksagute-llru-a
     thing-own-PST-IND.3SG.3SG
     'Before I was born my father owned a shop.' [Miyaoka 2012: 1395]

1. Viewpoint of the marked event

1. Viewpoint of the marked event

- *LIMITIVE: perfective => precedence, imperfective => simultaneity*

Tundra Nenets (Uralic, finno-ugric)

5.   *ira-h*   **_to-wa-n°h_**   *kniga-m*   *tola-b°-n'I*   *tara°*
       Ira-GEN   come-IMPF.AN-DAT   book-ACC   read-COND-1SG must
       'I must read the bool before Ira comes.' [Nikolaeva 2014: 368]

6.   *n'eb'a-waq*   **_ŋət'e-wa-x°naq_**   *s'anako-y°bt'e-x°-waq*
       mother-ACC.1PL   wait-IMPF.AN-DAT.1PL   play-DIM-HORT-1PL
       'While waiting for our mother let's play a little' [ibid.]

- **=> Subtype 1: contemporal limitive**
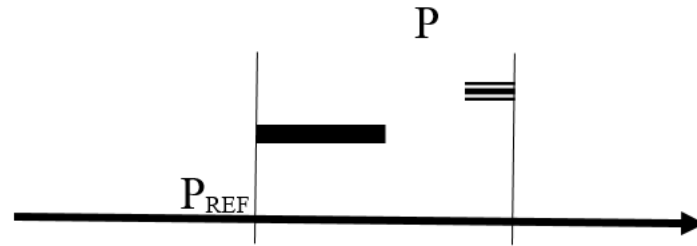
1. Viewpoint of the marked event

- *...or simultaneity with the absence of the event*

Hill Mari (Uralic, finno-ugric)

7.   *tokâ̂-žâ̂*   ***šo-meškä***   *maša*   *mâ̂r-en*
       home.ILL-POSS.3SG   reach-CVB.LIM   Mary   sing-PF.3SG
       'Mary sang until she came home.'

8.   *ti-štä*   ***šalgâ̂-meškä***   *pet'a*   *tü-nä*   *kašt-â̂n*
       this-INE   stand-CVB.LIM   Peter   outside-IN   walk-PF.3SG
       'Peter while not standing here walked outside.'

- **=> Subtype 2: negative limitive**

1. Viewpoint of the marked event

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- Availability of the simultaneous and anterior interpretation with both subtypes depends on the aspectual class of the verb

- Consider temporal interpretations with the following classes [Tatevosov 2005]:
  - <ES, -> – strong telic, **telic only**
  - <S, S> – stative, **atelic only**
  - <ES P, P>, <EP ES P, P> – telic processes, **both telic and atelic**

1. Viewpoint of the marked event

- **Telic only => anteriority (both subtypes)**

Moksha Mordvin (Uralic, finno-ugric)

9.   *škaf-t'*   **šašft-əmə-zə-nzə**   *aləc'*   *šta-mə*

         wardrobe-DEF.SG.GEN move-INF-ILL-3SG.POSS   bottom.DEF   wash-INF

         'Before he moves the wardrobe it's place should be wiped.'

Hill Mari (Uralic, finno-ugric)

10.   *tokâ̂-žâ̂*   **šo-meškä**   *maša*   *mâr-en*

         home.ILL-POSS.3SG   reach-CVB.LIM   Mary   sing-PF.3SG

         'Mary sang until she came home.'

1. Viewpoint of the marked event

- **Atelic only => simultaneity (both subtypes)**

Moksha (Uralic, finno-ugric)

11.   **ud-əmə-zə-nzə**   *targa-n'*   *modamaṟ'-t'*

        sleep-INF-ILL-3SG.POSS   dig-PST.1SG   potato-DEF.SG.GEN

        'While he was sleeping I was digging potatoes.'

Hill Mari (Uralic, finno-ugric)

12.   *ti-štə̄*   **šalgə̂-meškä** *pet'a*   *tü-nə̄*   *kašt-ə̂n*

        this-INE   stand-CVB.LIM Peter   outside-IN   walk-PF.3SG

        'Peter while not standing here walked outside.'

1. Viewpoint of the marked event

- **Atelic OR telic => simultaneity OR anteriority (contemporal limitive)**
  => anteriority (negative limitive)

Moksha (Uralic, finno-ugric)

13.   ***l'ijə-mə-zə-nzə***   *mon*   *p'id'an*   *užin*

      fly-INF-ILL-3SG.POSS   I   cook-NPST.3PL   dinner

      'While he flies I'll cook the dinner.' / 'Before he arrives I'll cook the dinner.'

Hill Mari (Uralic, finno-ugric)

14.   *olma-m*   ***kač-meškä-žä***   *pet'a*   *anž-ə̂n*   *män' väk-em*

      apple-ACC   eat-CVB.LIM-3SG   Peter   watch-PF.3SG   I   top-POSS.1SG

      'Peter watched me while not eating an apple.' / *'Peter watched me until he ate the apple.'

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2. Viewpoint of the reference event

- *ANTERIOR: perfective & imperfective => an interval between the events*

Nivkh (isolate)

15.   **um-inynŋ-anke**   *ugur*   *k'ymly-roř*   *it-ja*
    get.angry-MOD-CONV:TEMP   well   think-CONV:TEMP   say-IMP
    'Before you get angry, think well and say.' [Gruzdeva 1998: 50]

16.   *utkuōla*   *p'i*   **vi-ny-ynke**   *ṇajḵnonk*   *ṇyṇ-d'*
    boy   REFL   go-FUT-CONV:TEMP   puppy   search-FIN
    'Before leaving the boy was looking for the puppy.' [Gruzdeva 1998: 50]

2. Viewpoint of the reference event

- ***LIMITIVE: perfective => an interval between the events, imperfective = no interval***
- "Interruptant" in a sense of [Xrakovskij 2009]

Ts'ixa (Khoisan, khoe)

17. *ǀám̃.tsằã̀=sì*   *xàwèè*   ***ky'oà-tằ=sè***   *tsé*   *kũũ-a-tà*
      sun=SG.F:I   yet   come.out-IPFV.NEG=ADV   1PL.C go-J-PST1
      'We left before the sunrise.' [Fehn 2014: 17]

18.   *t'ű̃-nà-hà*   *xàwèè*   *ʔé.sì*   ***kyíí-tằ=sè***
      be.beautiful-J-PST3   yet   3SG.F:I   fall.ill-IPFV.NEG=ADV
      'She was beautiful until she fell ill.' [Fehn 2014: 18]

2. Viewpoint of the reference event

Limitive also varies in respect to allowability of a perfective reference event
- With Adyghe -fe-form the reference events always imperfective
- On the contrary Moksha Mordvin allows perfective reference events (13)

Adyghe (Circassian)

19.   *se*   *sup*   *s-ṣ̂ə-tə-ʁe*   *hač'e-xe-r*   **qe-ḳʷe-xe-fe**

         I   soup   1SG.ERG-make-IPF-PST   guest-PL-ABS   DIR-go-PL.ABS-LIM

         'I was cooking a soup until the guests came.'

20.   *se*   *sup*   *s-ṣ̂ə-ʁe*   *hač'e-xe-r*   ***qe-ḳʷe-xe-fe**

         I   soup   1SG.ERG-make-PST   guest-PL-ABS   DIR-go-PL.ABS-LIM

         'I cooked a soup before the guests came.'

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3. Polarity of the reference event

- *ANTERIOR: negation => no reference event at all*

Moksha Mordvin (Uralic, finno-ugric)

21.   *mon*   *af*   *rabot-an*   ***tu-m-də-n***   ***ingəl'ə***

        I   NEG   work-NPST.1SG   leave-INF-ABL-1SG.POSS   before

       'I won't be working before leaving.'

3. Polarity of the reference event

- *LIMITIVE: Negation => no reference event before, possibly after*
- "Expletive negation" [Paducheva 2014]

Gusii (Niger-Congo, bantu)

22. **n-táráa-chá**   *kó-mo-iy-a*   *tí-á-go-cha*

     1SG-TRD-come   INF-3SG:O-bring-NTR   NEG-3SG-FUT-come

     'Unless I go and get him he won't come.' [Aksjonova, Toporova 2008: 313]

3. Polarity of the reference event

- *LIMITIVE: Negation => no reference event before, possibly after*
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Gusii (Niger-Congo, bantu)

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1SG-TRD-come INF-3SG:O-bring-NTR NEG-3SG-FUT-come

'Unless I go and get him he won't come.' [Aksjonova, Toporova 2008: 313]

- **= will come if/when I bring him here**

3. Polarity of the reference event

- [Kortmann 1998: 464 –368]: **=** 'until p, q' — p identifies a moment or a period of time up to which q **is true**.

- Thus, marked and reference events are implicatively related:
    - ***Contemporal imitive***: $\exists t(P) \mid \forall t' < t(P1): P \rightarrow Q$
    - ***Negative limitive***: $\exists t(P) \mid \forall t' < t(P1): \urcorner P \rightarrow Q$

- **Limitive as a rather propositional than strictly temporal meaning?**

P = marked event; P2 = reference event; t(P1) = terminal boundary; t' = random point of time

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4. Givenness of the marked event

- ***ANTERIOR: only given or accessible information***

Moksha Mordvin (Uralic, finno-ugric)

23.   *mon*   *bə*   *jaṛca-l'ə-n'*   ***sa-m-də-nzə***   ***ingəl'ə***
         I   IRR   eat-PQP-PST.1SG   come-INF-ABL-1SG.POSS   before
         'I would eat before he comes.'

24.   *??mon bə*   *jaṛca-l'ə-n'*   ***topəd'-əm-də-n***   ***ingəl'ə***
         I   IRR   eat-PQP-PST.1SG   get.full-INF-ABL-1SG.POSS   before
         'I would eat before I get full.'

4. Givenness of the marked event

- *LIMITIVE: given & new information*

Moksha Mordvin (Uralic, finno-ugric)
25.   *mon*   *bə*   *jaɽca-l'ə-n'*   ***sa-mə-zə-nzə***
        I   IRR   eat-PQP-PST.1SG   come-INF-ILL-1SG.POSS
        'I would eat until he comes.'

26.   *??mon* *bə*   *jaɽca-l'ə-n'*   ***topəd'-əmə-zə-n***
         I   IRR   eat-PQP-PST.1SG   get.full-INF-ILL-1SG.POSS
        'I would eat until I get full.'

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Conclusion

- Limitive
    - is not just an aspectual variant of anterior, can be considered on separate terms
    - Varies in respect to two parameters
        - coincidence vs. non-coincidence of atelic events
        - Allowability of perfective reference event
    - is flexible with respect to the aspectual properties of the marked event and to the givenness of the information in the marked clause
    - always interrupts the reference event when it is imperfective
    - displays an implicative relation between the events, can be regarded as a propositional level meaning

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Thank you for your attention!